EAST TIMOR UPDATE (1985-1987)

by Finngeir Hiorth.

Summary. Having paid homage to Ernst Utrecht, the article goes on to consider the internal situation, radio contacts, human rights, some pro-Indonesian and Indonesian views, impressions of a Swedish visitor, an analysis by Kristiadi, freedom of religion, elections, the United Nations, UDT and Fretilin, talks between Indonesia and Portugal, recent literature, and some Christian views on East Timor. The article does not discuss transmigration, and the development of economy, schools, health and administration is only treated of cursorily. In a conclusion some main points are summarized.

Homage to Ernst Utrecht.

It may seem strange to publish an article on East Timor in a volume dedicated to the memory of Ernst Utrecht. Utrecht never wrote any scholarly article on Timor. His interests were, among other things, concentrated on Java, Bali, Muslims, and the armed forces. Speaking of the present regime in Indonesia, he did not mince his words when he called it a kind of "military fascism" (Utrecht in Caldwell 1975, p. 55). In a more recent paper, on Muslims and the military in Indonesia, Utrecht speaks of the "present military dictatorship" and its "fake "democracy"" (see Hering 1986, 37).

The occupation of East Timor has, of course, been a military occupation. And in the same way in which Utrecht has lambasted the undemocratic nature of the Suharto regime, one may attack the illegal occupation of East Timor. Many have done so already, and this is in the line of Utrecht's views, whether he has done so himself or not. This, but also Utrecht's passionate fight for justice, are reasons for including this essay in this volume.

These few lines devoted to the memory of Ernst Utrecht must suffice here. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an update of the East Timor affair as compared with my Timor - Past and Present (Townsville 1985). In particular the years 1985-1987 will be covered.

Internal Situation.

Throughout these years there have come reports of armed clashes in East Timor. Most of these reports come from Fretilin sources, or sources close to Fretilin, but sometimes also from other sources. As earlier, Indonesian sources tend to play down such reports. Mostly the Indonesians simply ignore such reports, but in a few cases the reports have been denied.

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As reliable substantiations of reports of armed clashes ordinarily are lacking, it is strictly speaking not possible to say whether a war is going on in East Timor or not. But even if we add all reports of clashes which come from Fretilin sources, it is clear that no full war is going on in East Timor. On the other side, Indonesian sources reluctantly admit the occurrence of some armed clashes. A characteristic like a guerilla-war on the back-burner therefore seems to be most adequate.

This assessment may be supplemented by a valuable analysis by Jill Jolliffe (1986). Jill Jolliffe analysed the military situation in 1985. Her analysis was based on what seemed to be an authentic Indonesian map and some Fretilin information. If we are to believe Jill Jolliffe's analysis, Fretilin had ten companies in the central and easternmost parts of East Timor.

The Indonesian map to which Jill Jolliffe refers lists the names of Fretilin guerilla commanders. Of the names mentioned, two were also mentioned in an Indonesian counter-insurgency manual of 1982 (see my Timor - Past and Present, pp. 65-8). These two names are David Alex and Falu Tiai (Chai in the 1982 version).

Two others of the 18 commanders given are, according to Jill Jolliffe, known from other sources and are veterans of the guerilla war: Miguel dos Santos and Virgilio dos Anjos. Another guerilla leader, Mauk Moruk (Muruk in 1982), defected to the Indonesians in early 1985 and was presented to journalists visiting East Timor in July 1985. The main focus of Indonesian forces in 1985 was along a line from Baucau to Viqueque, although there was a quite heavy Indonesian military presence in most of East Timor.

Among the Indonesian forces in 1985 were two battalions, 744 and 745, consisting mainly or exclusively of Timorese. The soldiers of these two battalions were placed in six different townships. So far Jill Jolliffe's analysis of the military situation in 1985.

In Timor - Past and Present I mentioned that since October 1982, Xanana Gusmão has established himself as the best-known guerilla leader. At the end of 1987 he still appeared to be at large, although the Indonesians reportedly have tried to capture him. Xanana has also established himself as an assiduous letter-writer. Numerous letters or reports from him have reached the outside world. In these communications Xanana has elaborated on various clashes in which so-and-so many Indonesians are killed, whereas the East Timorese hardly suffer losses. The Indonesians are also routinely accused of various atrocities. Although Fretilin sources speak of liberated zones, these

seem mainly to be areas with few or no Indonesians.

Although Fretilin reports of clashes often seem exaggerated, there can be no doubt that a number of clashes have taken place in recent years. The first five days of July 1985, four journalists representing the Far Eastern Economic Review, The New York Times, Agence France Press, and Asiaweek were in East Timor. According to Lincoln Kaye of FEER (8 August 1985), two foreign journalists visited the Field of Fallen Heroes in Dili. They reported counting 84 graves dated 1985. Of these, all but 10 bore the star that identified them as Muslim graves. The monthly distribution of burials seemed fairly even, except for a slight lull in April. Apart from the cemetery in Dili, where also civilians are buried, there is another reportedly busier Field of Fallen Heroes in Baucau. Other war-dead perhaps are shipped back to their families outside East Timor.

Whereas Fretilin sources describe their guerillas as being organized into regular companies, Indonesian sources describe the guerillas as bandits. Other sources, mentioned in Asiaweek (2 August 1985), suggest that the guerillas operate in groups of 10-40 men. Some of these reports indicate that at least some guerillas cannot get sufficient food in areas outside Indonesian control. This, undoubtedly, is a sign of weakness. Another similar sign of weakness is that the guerillas reportedly do not take prisoners. A result of the unrest is much distrust among East Timorese and between East Timorese and Indonesians.

East Timor remains closed not only to foreigners, but also to Indonesians. After a visit to East Timor in March 1987, the Norwegian journalist Terje Svabø reported that nobody can enter the plane to Dili "without papers stamped by the military authorities" (Aftenposten, Oslo, 8 April 1987). Svabø also reported that "Fretilin is still active but can do little against the Indonesian military power".

From Svabø's report we may also quote the following. A representative of the Department of Information or local officials followed Svabø whereever he went. In Dili, in March 1987 supposed to be inhabited by 80,000 persons, life was quiet and not many military to be seen. Most persons in "responsible positions" were said to come from outside East Timor. Education was much emphasized and 500 East Timorese reportedly studied in Indonesia. There were said to be 111 doctors in the territory. But the white beaches were empty, without tourists.

Svabø describes East Timor as beautiful. He visited Ermera, about 40 km from Dili, and quoted the following official figures to illustrate the territory: average duration of life was estimated to be 50 years. At least 120 of 1,000 born children die. 40 % of the children were

said to be malnourished. Illiteracy was estimated at about 60-70 %. About 13 % reportedly had access to clean water. Whereas unemployment was so high "that it is not registered". Of 138,000 children between seven and twelve, 120,000 went to school. In 1983 almost half of the population suffered from malaria, in 1987 about 10 %. New hospitals and clinics had been built. All the preceding figures reportedly were official Indonesian figures.

Terje Svabø also interviewed military commander colonel Yunus Yosfiah, 42 years old. According to him there were in March 1987 about 3,000 Indonesian soldiers in East Timor divided into four batalions. According to Yosfiah 11 Indonesian soldiers had lost their lives in the preceding year. He said that "it is not correct to speak of Fretilin as an organization". According to him Fretilin had at most 150 armed men, and "a month may pass between clashes". Other sources told Svabø that Fretilin had 700-1000 armed men and that the Indonesians had 15,000 soldiers in East Timor. These sources also referred to a clash which took place in December 1986 when 32 soldiers were supposed to have lost their lives.

So far the report of Terje Svabø who did not meet the apostolic administrator or any other Catholic priests.

Radio Contacts.

At the end of May 1985 Fretilin triumphantly reported the re-establishment of a two-link radio contact between East Timor and a place about 100 km outside Darwin. Radio contact had reportedly been re-established on 6 January 1985. Apparently, there had not been any radio contact between East Timor and the outside world since December 1978, when the Indonesians captured Radio Maubere, and the beginning of 1985. The new two-link radio contact, however, needed a licence from the Autralian authorities. This licence application was rejected, and after that the importance of the two-link contact became considerably reduced or even without value. Reports from East Timor have after that, as before, mainly come by means of letters or reports which are smuggled out from the territory.

Human Rights.

The human rights situation in East Timor has remained difficult in the years 1985-1987. In June 1985 Amnesty International published its East Timor, Violations of Human Rights. This book presented a long list of extrajudicial executions, disappearances, torture and political imprisonment for the period 1975-1984.

had been released in East Timor. After the October releases, there may have been 116 political detainees still remaining in prisons in Dili. Since 1983 the Indonesian authorities had brought more than 230 East Timorese to trial for suspected support of Fretilin.

Amnesty International has urged the Indonesian government to permit international observers to attend the trials, but the government has stated that the trials are a matter of domestic jurisdiction and that outside interference in internal affairs will not be tolerated.

One person tried in 1986, Luis Maria da Silva, received a 10-year sentece, and 12 other prisoners tried in 1986 or 1987 have received sentences between 3 and 9 years. Most of those tried recently, however, are serving terms of between one and two years.

Apart from the prisoners held in Dili, there may be people being held elsewhere in East Timor. According to an East Timorese report of 18 September 1985, there were six prisons outside Dili: Saelari (for prisoners from Baucau, Viqueque and Los Palos), Dotik at Alas (prisoners from Ainaro), Bunuk (on the south-central coast), Paragua in Cailaco, Halikou (between Cailaco and Maliana), and Aileu (Tapol Bulletin no. 73, Jan. 1986). A more complete and detailed report on prisons in East Timor, apparently based on the same source, can be found in Indonesia Reports, Human Rights Supplement, No. 14, March 1986, pp. 1-10. Indonesian authorities in July 1985 maintained that no prisoners are held outside Dili.

In July 1986 Amnesty International reported the detantion of 43 East Timorese in Jakarta. Of these 42 were men and held in Cipinang prison, whereas one was a woman, Domingas da Costa, who was held in Tangerang women's prison. In July 1987 she was transferred to Dili. According to governor Mario Carrascalao detainees sentenced to more than 5 years' imprisonment were to be transferred to Jakarta, while those sentenced to less would be detained in the Comarca prison in Dili. But the Indonesian authorities have not stuck strictly to this rule.

Among East Timorese detained in Cipinang was Wenceslau de Carvalho, believed to have been in continuous detention since 1975. He is believed to have been arrested while performing his military service in Oecusse, to have been taken to Dili in May 1976, and later detained in the Comarca prison in Dili. Other prisoners in Cipinang were also former members of the Portuguese army, for example Albino de Lourdes, Fernando Pinto Baptista, David Ximenes, and José Simoes. Another prisoner, Caetano de Sousa Guteres, had been a former official in the Indonesian department of industry office in Dili. Some of the Cipinang prisoners had been arrested after a Fretilin attack in June 1980,

The book was in the hands of the Indonesian authorities in Jakarta approximately a week before the publication date. Amnesty International received reports of comments on the East Timor report from Indonesian authorities and politicians. But only one of these was communicated directly to an Amnesty section. Most of the comments said that AI's report was exaggerated. Foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja complained that AI did not have the decency to come to the Indonesian authorities before they made their allegations. He did not mention that earlier AI communications to the Indonesian government had remained without reply.

There was no suggestion that the Indonesian authorities would make a thorough examination of the AI human rights allegations. A few superficial and inane comments were clearly regarded to be a sufficient answer to a thorough report. For reasons of space I cannot here enter into the details of AI's East Timor report. It is well worth reading for anyone interested in the human rights situation in East Timor 1975-1984.

Whether the Indonesian government has taken the AI report seriously or not, is not known even two and a half years after its publication. Even though the Indonesian authorities in their first reactions dismissed the report, they may at a later stage have used it to improve the human rights situation in East Timor by correcting mistakes, by punishing officials who have misbehaved etc. But whether this has happened is not known at the time of writing (January 1988).

In any case, Amnesty International has continued to follow developments in East Timor also after the publication of its report of June 1985. I am in the possession of nine AI reports published in the period 13 August 1985 until December 1987 and dealing partly or wholly with East Timor. In addition AI has distributed a number of appeals for urgent action in cases of fear of torture or legal concern. These appeals were released in the period September 1986 to March 1987 and dealt with the cases of three East Timorese students arrested in Jakarta (Antonino Goncalves, Joao Freitas da Camara, Francisco Fernandes Carvalho), two students arrested in Dili probably August 1986 (Domingos Sequeira Sarmento and Germano da Silva), and a nurse, Vicente de Sousa, arrested in Dili February 1987. Vicente de Sousa was released a week after his arrest.

In November 1987 AI reported the release of 20 political prisoners in Dili on 5 October 1987 after having served all but a few months of their sentences. Earlier, in August, 24 other political prisoners

e.g. Mario Nicolau Reis, Domingo Seixas, Januario Ximenes and David Ximenes. Mario Nicolau Reis was later released but then rearrested in late 1983 following the launch of a military offensive by the Indonesians.

Cipinang prison was reported in May 1986 to hold over 700 prisoners, most of whom had been detained for criminal offences. Apart from the East Timorese, there were, however, 22 communist political prisoners (18 under sentence of death) and about 20 prisoners detained for alleged involvement in the clash at Tanjung Priok (Jakarta) in September 1984 or for criticizing government policies which they felt threatened Muslims.

In its 1985 report Amnesty International had presented a list of names of some 550 people who were reported either to have been extrajudicially executed or to have disappeared. In a March 1987 report AI complains about the failure of the Indonesian government to investigate past disappearances. At the same time it could publish the whereabouts of 10 people earlier reported to be missing or executed. None of this information was due to the Indonesian authorities. Repeated requests to the Indonesian government for information had been left without reply. To AI's knowledge, no investigation into the fate of the missing/executed people had ever been undertaken by the Indonesian authorities. In March 1987 AI also published a list of 18 persons whose whereabouts were unknown.

It is not only AI which does not get any help from the Indonesian authorities. In December 1986 the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances reported that the Indonesian government had replied to none of the 67 cases transmitted to it by the Working Group.

For seven consecutive years AI has presented a statement on East Timor to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, the last time on 13 August 1987. These statements invariably have deplored the human rights situation in East Timor and brought some new details of human rights violations.

In its August 1987 statement AI again wrote that the human rights situation in East Timor continued "to be cause for concern". The organization had received reports of extrajudicial executions and torture in 1986 and 1987. AI remained concerned about the fairness of trials and about the failure of the Indonesian government to investigate disappearances and executions. To AI's knowledge, not one person had "been prosecuted for alleged human rights offences in East Timor despite of admissions from the government that some "mistakes" may have been committed".

According to AI's August 1987 statement "the risk of torture is particularly great for East Timorese arrested and interrogated by the Indonesian military in district or sub-district commands outside" Dili. Such people could be detained for months at a time in local military commands before release or transfer to Dili. Repeated efforts of AI to obtain copies of trial documents had been unsuccessful.

On the positive side, AI in its August 1987 statement welcomed the closure of the island of Atauro as a place of detention. Atauro was opened as a place of detention in 1980. At the height of its use as a detention centre in 1982, Atauro had a prisoner population of over 4,000. After that the prisoner population gradually declined and by March 1987 the last prisoner reportedly had left the island. Two hundred former prisoners have voluntarily remained on Atauro.

John Bunton.

What have the Indonesian authorities answered to various allegations of human rights violations? One tactic has been to quote the very few foreigners who have been willing to support the Indonesian authorities. So Sinar Harapan of 1 July 1985 in a response to AI's publication of its book on East Timor quoted the English editor and publisher John A. W. Bunton who reportedly declared the book to be "absolute nonsense". There were no prisons for former Fretilin-members in East Timor. What Bunton had seen "with his own eyes", however, was an enchanting island with people who lived peacefully and happily, and who also appeared to be healthy.

Later John Bunton published two articles in the periodical Nusantara of which at least four issues appeared in England in 1985. In the July 1985 issue the events in East Timor were described as a "nasty, brutish little war fought between the pro-Indonesian East Timorese and Fretilin" (p. 14). For all practical purposes the guerilla war in East Timor was said to be over with "the possible exception of the eastern-most corner of the island where the remnants of Fretilin guerillas are still in hiding in the hills from which they occasionally launch food-foraging raids on surrounding villages" (p. 14).

In the August 1985 issue of Nusantara John Bunton published two articles on East Timor, one (pp. 15-18) on Atauro, and one (pp. 21-23) on religion. According to Bunton, food was available "in abundance" on Atauro. Governor Mario Carrascalao is quoted as saying that the detainees "enjoy many privileges on Atauro which they will not receive when they get back home" (p. 15). And a doctor Ery Andar on Atauro is quoted as saying: "Today Atauro is a happy place, a good place to

live. Most people do not want to leave" (p. 18).

S. Wiryono and Father Rüdiger Seifert.

In his articles on East Timor, John Bunton only indirectly answered allegations of human rights violations. Fretilin is depicted as the great scoundrel, and, together with the Portuguese, responsible for almost anything which is bad in East Timor. Similarly, Indonesia's deputy permanent to the UN, S. Wiryono, in a statement presented to the UN Decolonization Committee on 15 August 1986 omits any direct reference to the many allegations of human rights violations. Wiryono maintained that "it is now a decade ago that self-determination and decolonization have taken place in East Timor" and went on to present a fanciful account of East Timor's recent history.

Wiryono used an account of Father Rüdiger Seifert, a German Catholic priest of the Dominican order, to paint a positive picture of East Timor. Fr. Seifert visited East Timor in December 1985. He had also been in East Timor in 1973 and had lived some years in Jakarta as a pastor for the German community. Wiryono presented Seifert as an "independent observer" and described his views and impressions in the following way.

Fr. Seifert "held private interviews with numerous villagers in Fatumaka, Cairui, Sare, Baucau and Komoro. They were unanimous that Fretilin was no longer capable of organized military action. Reduced to a band of common criminals, they are feared by the population because they not only robbed but also murdered villagers and burned their homes, Fr. Seifert was told by the people".

Wiryono continued to say that according to Seifert there was "no malnutrition in the villages on the main island or on Atauro and that there was sufficient food stuffs to meet the nutritional needs of the population".

Fr. Seifert also emphasized progress in education and "was particularly impressed by the educational standards". He noted "a 10 fold increase in elementary schools, 20 fold increase in junior high schools and a 8 fold increase in senior high schools". There had also been great progress in the health sector, "from 56 units before integration to 378 after integration". According to Seifert the health care system in East Timor is better than in Indonesia, "including in the ratio of doctors to population".

So far Fr. Seifert as presented by Wiryono in his UN statement of 15 August 1986. Wiryono next goes on to refer to the Swedish diplomat Dag Klackenberg.

Swedish Visit to East Timor.

In June 1986 secretary Dag Klackenberg of the Swedish Department of Foreign Affairs visited East Timor for three days together with Åke Isaksson of the Swedish embassy in Jakarta and an Indonesian Foreign Affairs official. Mr. Klackenberg has reported to the Swedish Department of Foreign Affairs about his visit, but his report is still confidential. According to the Swedish press, Dag Klackenberg is the first Swedish diplomat to visit East Timor during the 1980s. The Swedish press has quoted Mr. Klackenberg as saying the following about his visit:

"My opinion both before and after the visit is that the fights have been considerably reduced. The resistance movement Fretilin today consists of a few hundred men in the mountains. Their activity in part consists in demanding food and in (offering?) protection in remote villages, in part in attacking transports. I would not go as far as calling it pure banditry as long as they themselves claim to have a political aim. The Indonesian army does not pursue them into the mountains, there is no active chasing of the guerillas. It is not so that hundreds of thousands people have been forced together in strategic villages. I saw the villages, but it is more correct to call them "new villages". Earlier there were no villages at all.

My feeling when I left East Timor was anger with the Portuguese who left the country with 90 % analphabetism, without industry and schools.

It is not likely that anti-aircraft guns of the type which Sweden has delivered to Indonesia may have been used against targets on land. Having seen those mountains and that terrain it does not seem to be carefully thought out to use the guns in that way.

I am aware that my credibility can be questioned. But having worked with Southeast Asia for eight years I consider my background knowledge to be sufficient."

So far Dag Klackenberg according to the Swedish press. Mr. Klackenberg has been sharply attacked by Björn Larsson, chairman of the Swedish East Timor Committee. According to Larsson up to a third of the population in East Timor has died during the war. "It is not strange that it has become more quiet as a result," Larsson is quoted as saying. There have also been other attacks on Klackenberg or on the Indonesian occupation of East Timor in connection with this Swedish visit to East Timor.

An Indonesian Voice on East Timor.

From these Swedish impressions of East Timor, we turn to an Indonesian account. In The Indonesian Quarterly, vol. 14, no. 4, 1986, pp. 546-577, we find the article "The Decolonisation of East Timor: A Historical Review". The paper has been written by Kristiadi who is presented as a staff member of the Department of Political Affairs of the Jakarta-based CSIS (Centre for Strategic and International Studies). It is the CSIS which publishes The Indonesian Quarterly.

The paper starts with the 25 April 1974 coup d'etat in Portugal and is mainly limited to political events in and outside East Timor in 1974-76. Occasionally the author looks back to earlier events, the earliest being from 1904. The author describes the party system in East Timor in 1974-75. As might be expected he pays most attention to Apodeti which is presented as "essentially the legalisation of long standing freedom movements in East Timor. Many prominent members of that party were fighters in the popular rebellion of 1945-1949 in Los Palos" (p. 549). In a curious sentenee Kristiadi writes that historical "sentiments which were widespread among the people generated the belief that the separation of East Timor from Indonesia was a violation of humanity to be resisted" (p. 549).

Having described the political parties, Kristiadi turns his attention to the policy of the Indonesian government. On 8 October 1974 President Soeharto declared that Indonesia did not "have territorial ambitions" and respected "the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination" (p. 551). Kristiadi describes in rather great detail the Indonesian approach to the Portuguese government, and to France and the United Kingdom, in 1974-75.

Internal developments in East Timor in 1975 are described under the title of "Turbulence in East Timor". Here Kristiadi writes that Fretilin launched an offensive "at the end of August 1975" and "in only one month succeeded in controlling almost the whole territory of East Timor". But, "behind that success, ignoring the rules of international relations, Fretilin feeling very strong, often violated Indonesian territory by firing artillery shells into it as well as by plundering cattle and food" (p. 564). The number of refugees entering West Timor is given as about 45,000 people, the source being allegedly the ICRC.

Kristiadi further writes that to "Apodeti, the occurrence of military movements was a surpise and heavy blow as well. They must (sic) however willy-nilly take part in it. And only owing to its skill in exploiting the situation, Apodeti could play a role in the turbulence in East Timor" (565). It remains rather enigmatic how

Apodeti could turn the military tables, especially if, if we are to believe Kristiadi's account, the Indonesians hardly played any military role either in 1975 or later. According to Kristiadi, Apodeti with the assistance of UDT, could neutralize "the raging power of Fretilin" (p. 567). As might be expected, Indonesia's annexation is described as a legalisation of "the will of the people" in East Timor.

At the end of his paper Kristiadi on one page describes the role of the United Nations. This role is said to be "insignificant" as the UN did not take account of the "existing objective realities inherent in the problem". And the various resolutions of the UN did not have any "meaning at all with regard (to) the process of settling the problem of East Timor" (p. 576). Kristiadi does not quote the contents of the resolutions, not even in outline. Obviously, this was too embarrassing.

Kristiadi finally gives a list of his sources. His sources include western publications, but not the books by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, James Dunn, Jill Jolliffe, Torben Retböll and others. Nor are the penetrating legal analyses of Roger S. Clark mentioned, or Amnesty International's publications on human rights violations in East Timor. For people in the West, who have access to so many different sources, Kristiadi's account is, of course, of limited value. It mainly shows how the Indonesian government wants the world to look at East Timor. It is clearly still impossible to publish an objective account of the East Timor affair in Indonesia.

Freedom of Religion in East Timor.

A major aspect of Indonesian information and propaganda about East Timor is the emphasis on freedom of religion. In two articles (see bibliography) I have discussed freedom of religion in Indonesia in general without touching upon the conditions in East Timor. As is clear from the papers, there are a number of restrictions in the freedom of religion in Indonesia.

In East Timor freedom of religion seems to be practised about as in Indonesia. But the extraordinary situation in the territory also reflects on the practice of the freedom of religion.

Two reports have been published to clarify the situation in East Timor. The first of these is Religious Life in East Timor, published by the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations (1985, 7 pp.) This report, presenting a rosy picture of East Timor, was followed by Droits et libertés religieuses au Timor Oriental (July 1985, 16 pp.), written by one or more Catholics in Lisbon and sharply criticizing

the situation in East Timor.

Religious Life in East Timor maintains that all Indonesian citizens "are guaranteed the freedom to profess and to practice their respective religions" (p. 1) and that this also applies to East Timor. According to the report, in 1984 there were 447,390 Catholics, 14,589 Protestants, and 14,087 Muslims in the territory, in addition to a few Hindus and Buddhists. This leaves at least 50,000 people unaccounted for, most of them probably being "animists" but not mentioned with a word in the Indonesian report. Nor are non-believers mentioned in the report which is mostly devoted to the Catholic Church.

Concluding, the report maintains: "there is complete freedom of religion in East Timor. There are no restrictions placed on the clergy's pastoral duties who have total freedom of movement throughout the province as well as abroad. The Catholic Church has full authority over the parochial school system and has steadily been expanding its educational activities" (p. 7).

As against this Indonesian report, the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, in a March 1985 pastoral letter on family planning declared that the agents of this program "do not respect the Christian conscience of the Timorese" and "take no heed of the teachings of the Catholic Church and its norms" (Indonesia Reports, Human Rights Supplement, no. 13, Nov. 1985, p. 1). Belo does not wholly reject the Indonesian family program. There is even "a necessity for family planning" (ibid., p. 5), but the program must be adapted to Catholic doctrine and practice.

A much sharper criticism of the Indonesian authorities is contained in the anonymous Droits et libertés. Although this document contains a passing reference to the plight of the animists and suggests that they should be respected, it is on the whole devoted to defending the Catholic Faith against encroachments by Muslims or the Indonesian authorities. According to this document only two foreign Catholic priests have been admitted to East Timor since the Indonesian occupation. On the other side the Indonesian authorities have been much more liberal in admitting Catholic clergy coming from Indonesia (p. 9). This, if true, is clearly a part of the general attempts from the Indonesian side to integrate East Timor into its own system.

According to Droits et libertés priests giving homilies must be careful not to stress suffering or pain. "The smallest reference to suffering, directly or indirectly in relation to the situation, is considered anti-Pancasila, anti-Indonesian" (p. 11). "Politics" must be kept out of ceremonies (p. 11). This is also the

case with regard to Muslim religious meetings in Indonesia, so it has nothing specifically to do with East Timor.

Whereas the Indonesians maintain that the Catholic Church has full authority over its school system, Droits et libertés maintains that Church schools have to use the Indonesian language and Indonesian curricula. The only exception to this rule is the school St. Joseph "where 800 pupils continue to get an instruction which the Indonesian state does not recognize" (p. 12).

An important restriction in the freedom of religion is a result of restrictions in the possibility of travelling. Priests are allegedly not allowed to visit the mountains, and their movements are also restricted in other ways (p. 10).

Can a people have real freedom of religion, Droits et libertés asks rhetorically, if this people is regrouped in controlled camps, if this people cannot move about or take part in economic activities which guarantee the subsistence of families, if this people is constantly threatened with prison, torture, and death; if this people, which has its own culture, is forced to speak the language of the occupant and to send its children to schools where one exclusively teaches the language and the customs of the occupant; if this people has no right to express itself, to gather, to associate ... ? (p. 5).

As we have seen the human rights situation in East Timor in general remains a cause of concern. As long as this is the case, the situation with regard to the freedom of religion also is likely to remain unsatisfactory.

Elections.

As in Indonesia, elections were held in East Timor 23 April 1987. As in 1982, only Golkar (the government party), PPP (previously a Muslim party), and PDI (previously an alliance of nationalists and Christians) were permitted to campaign. Fretilin, UDT and Apodeti were banned or have been dissolved.

As in the 1982 election, East Timor was the first province to publish a result. The total number of inhabitants was given as 629,998 (April 1987). Of these 360,144 or 57.26 % had the right to vote. Golkar obtained 338,078 valid ballots, PDI 20,174, and PPP 2,648, i.e. a total of 360,900 valid ballots in East Timor. This means that 756 more valid ballots were cast than the total number of people who had the right to vote.

In a letter addressed to the secretary-general and dated 1 July 1987, ambassador Ali Alatas, permanent representative of Indonesia

to the UN, explained the discrepancies in the following way. Absentee-voters, i.e. people who on election day are away from their original voting district, on business or for whatever reason, are issued absentee voting ballots and are allowed to cast their vote at the polling station where they happen to be at that time. It is this category of votes that accounts for an excess in numbers in certain districts. Absentee voter names are automatically expunged from the voter-lists in their original districts, so as to foreclose any possibility of double-voting.

In the same letter Ali Alatas answered allegations of irregularities in East Timor in the following way. Because of the uneven literacy level of the Indonesian electorate, the system of casting votes has been designed in a simplified manner. Voters can indicate their preference by either piercing the election symbol of the party of their choice on their ballot paper and placing it in a single ballot box, or by putting their ballot paper (unpierced) into one of the three party boxes, thus indicating their choice. The latter system was applied in East Timor. Alatas added that the principle of free and secret elections is maintained as both ways of acting proceed in the privacy of the polling booth.

In none of my sources it is satisfactorily explained how the Indonesian authorities have been able to muster so many votes in East Timor. To my knowledge no international observers have been present to observe the elections in East Timor. Given the rather strange results from East Timor, a suspicion that the elections have been rigged or manipulated is not easily removed. Adding to the peculiarity of the elections in East Timor is the fact that Indonesia's foreign minister dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja headed the Golkar slate. Mochtar is not a Timorese.

As a result of the "election" in East Timor, Golkar got 4 seats to represent the territory, the other parties none. In Indonesia as a whole the distribution of the votes was as follows:

Golkar	74.75 % of the votes,	229 seats
PPP	15.25 % of the votes,	61 seats
PDI	10.00 % of the votes,	40 seats
	Totally	400 election seats.

The figures given are all official Indonesian figures.

East Timor and the United Nations.

In my Timor - Past and Present I wrote that further developments at the UN are of minor interest as the UN already in 1982 had given up the right of the East Timorese to self-determination (p. 84).

Before 1982 the right to self-determination of East Timor had been explicitly affirmed in all resolutions. In 1982 the right to self-determination was not, however, reaffirmed in the resolution which the General Assembly adopted.

José Ramos-Horta has thrown new light on this question in his book Funu (1987). Referring to the Portuguese minister of foreign affairs Vasco Futscher Pereira, Ramos-Horta writes that the then new secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar had argued "that there was no question that the people of East Timor had the right to self-determination" (Funu 134). Apparently because of the "self-evidence" of the right to self-determination, any reference to this right became superfluous and hence could be omitted. In any case de Cuellar wanted to delete the reference to self-determination and Ramos-Horta felt forced to give in.

Ramos-Horta also tells how it each year was a "most exasperating experience" to find a country willing to formally introduce the draft resolution (Funu 128). East Timor was a less popular item than, say, Namibia. Ramos-Horta gives the impression that he had to work almost alone, although to some extent assisted by some other East Timorese or representatives of Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa. Portugal itself was very passive, except in 1975-76, and again from 1982 on.

Although 1982 had brought the omission of a reference to self-determination in the General Assembly, the year was also important because of a new development which took place in the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. This Sub-Commission, as mentioned in my Timor - Past and Present (p. 57), on 8 September 1982 adopted a resolution in which it affirmed "the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence" and declared "that the people of East Timor must be enabled freely to determine their own future". This resolution was confirmed by the Commission on Human Rights on 16 February 1983 with 16 votes to 14 and 10 abstentions.

Again, on 6 September 1983 the above-mentioned UN Sub-Commission adopted a similar resolution which was not voted on at the meeting of the Human Rights Commission in February 1984. Then, a year later, 1 March 1985 the Human Rights Commission deleted East Timor from its agenda. The voting was 11 to 9 with 20 abstentions. Among those voting against reportedly were Australia, Finland and Ireland. This is the first time that a UN body has voted in favour of Indonesia's point of view.

But then, after this set-back for the East Timorese nationalists, the UN Sub-Commission on human rights at its meeting on 4 September

1987 adopted by 6 votes to 4 with 9 abstentions and 6 absent a resolution which did not contain any reference to self-determination but which requested the secretary-general "to continue his efforts to encourgge all parties concerned, that is, the administering power, the Indonesian government and the East Timor representatives, to co-operate in order to achieve a durable solution taking into full consideration the rights and wishes of the people of East Timor". The resolution also recommended the Commission on Human Rights "to study carefully at its 44th session the evolution of the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Timor". Experts from the following countries were in favour of the resolution: Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, the Netherlands, and the UK. Against were experts from Canada, Japan, Somalia and the USSR. Abstaining were experts from China, Egypt, Ghana, India, Jordan, Mexico, Morocco, the USA, and Yugoslavia.

UDT and Fretilin.

After Indonesia's occupation, the pro-Indonesian party Apodeti was dissolved, whereas the conservative nationalist party UDT disappeared as an independent political force not only in East Timor, but also elsewhere. But in 1986 after many years in the shadows UDT appeared on the international scene again when it joined forces with Fretilin. In Lisbon on 24 March 1986 representatives of the two parties announced that they were engaging in joint initiatives to further their demand for self-determination for East Timor. UDT claimed to operate an intelligence network in Dili that would be put at the service of Fretilin. UDT has not had combat units of its own in East Timor. Peter Wise described UDT as "strongly Roman Catholic" (FEER 10 April 86).

UDT and Fretilin had started talks on 16 December 1985, and UDT declared that the two groupings had agreed "to defend the installation of a democratic, western-style regime in East Timor".

In August 1987 some members of the UDT were in New York to present the views of UDT to the Decolonization Committee. The UDT petitioners reaffirmed their party's adherence to independence and denied they ever asked Indonesia to intervene. At the same session of the Decolonization Committee, Fretilin had a separate delegation. Thus, UDT and Fretilin did not use this occasion to have a joint delegation.

The United Nations, Indonesia and Portugal.

The General Assembly resolution of 1982 on East Timor asked the secretary-general to "initiate consultations with all parties directly

concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem". Even before that, but particularly subsequently, discussions have taken place between secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar and/or mr. Rafeeudin Ahmed, a Pakistani representing the UN, and Indonesian and Portuguese officials. Representatives of the East Timorese have not been invited to the discussions. The discussions have focussed on the repatriation of Portuguese officials and their families still in East Timor, religious freedom, protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of the East Timorese, and economic and social conditions in East Timor.

In an interview with Radio Australia, foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja presented the talks as a gesture of goodwill on Indonesia's part on the basis of recognition of integration. The question of self-determination was left aside as the Indonesians believe that self-determination has taken place. According to Mochtar not only the Indonesians, but also the Portuguese have wanted to exclude East Timorese from the talks (Timor Link no. 4, 1985, p. 7).

In his latest progress report, dated 8 September 1987, concerning the talks between Indonesia and Portugal, general-secretary de Cuellar writes that in early 1986 the International Committee of the Red Cross started the repatriation of former civil servants and their dependants. At the end of August 1987, about 380 persons, or about three quarters of those eligible, had arrived in Lisbon from East Timor in 15 groups.

Material available to me has not revealed any substantial progress in the talks as of the end of 1987, and it is clear that no comprehensive settlement had been reached.

Recent Literature.

We have already had occasion to mention José Ramos-Horta's book Funu (1987). For those who have followed the political events relating to East Timor, Ramos-Horta's book does not bring much that is new. We get an impression of Ramos-Horta as a political personality, some biographical information, and some anecdotes.

Among the few important points touched upon in Funu, we can mention the following. Observers of the East Timor affair have sometimes wondered why the UN never has requested an Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice. Inspired in part by the Namibia and Western Sahara cases, Ramos-Horta had worked out a draft to ask the Court to give a non-binding opinion on the question of self-determination. However, "the Portuguese rejected the idea on the grounds that Portugal, as the administering power of the therritory, was convinced

that the Timorese people had not exercised their right to self-determination, and could not therefore put this conviction in question by going to the Court" (Funu 132). Thus, because of this negative stance of the Portuguese, apparently backed up by the flimsiest of arguments, the International Court of Justice was not appreached.

Ramos-Horta has not much to add about the war in East Timor. But when UN representative Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi visited Timor and Australia, and when Ramos-Horta tried to induce him to visit Fretilin-controlled areas, the effort failed also because the Indonesians quickly could occupy relevant airstrips (Funu 116). This indicates the military weakness of Fretilin already in January 1976. Since that time the Indonesians have always been able to occupy any places they wished to in East Timor, and Fretilin has had to withdraw to less accessible places.

According to Ramos-Horta, Indonesians have tried to win him over to their side. In the fall of 1981 a senior aid to general Ali Moertopo invited Ramos-Horta "to Indonesia for the possible post of governor of East Timor" (Funu 92). But Ramos-Horta declined.

Ramos-Horta also writes about politics in East Timor in 1974-75. But what he has to add to earlier sources is mostly of a biographical or anecdotal nature, and does not need to detain us here. Nowhere in his book Ramos-Horta mentions military assistance either from the East or the West. The only help East Timorese have received has been humanitarian help of western organizations and states. From other sources, including their "best" friends, the East Timorese have only redeived verbal and "moral" support.

Another recent book is The War against East Timor (1984) by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong. Almost everybody interested in Indonesian politics knows the name of Carmel Budiardjo. She is a marvellous political activist and an indefatigable fighter for human rights in Indonesia. Her merit earned through the publication of Tapol Bulletin is unsurpassable. But she is no great scholar, and this is only too obvious in this book which she has written together with Liem Soei Liong.

The greatest weakness of The War against East Timor is that almost any information from Fretilin is regarded as true. Information from Indonesian sources is largely lacking. It is true, of course, that the Indonesian authorities have never given much information about military activity in East Timor, and some Indonesian information is obviously wrong. But Fretilin too has given unreliable information. The Fretilin side has always stressed the military side of events,

whereas the Indonesians have stressed economic development. As there is much evidence that economic development has taken place, this makes clear that the military events in East Timor cannot have been as important as Fretilin sources maintain. But this point is totally neglected by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong.

The authors undoubtedly use a range of various sources. Their sources are in no way limited to leftist writers. But there are some sources of good quality lacking, and there is also a leftist bias throughout the book. Still, the book contains a lot of interesting hypotheses which should be explored in any thorough account of the war in East Timor. But evidence which can decide the hypotheses is still largely lacking. Apart from these various hypotheses, a valuable part of the book is its Part II (pp. 169-244) in which we find a full translation of documents of which I already have given a summary in my Timor - Past and Present (pp. 65-68).

A third book on East Timor has been published by Torben Retböll (ed.): East Timor: The Struggle Continues, Copenhagen 1984. The book covers developments 1980-84, whereas an earlier book published by Retböll, East Timor, Indonesia and the Western Democracies, Copenhagen 1980, covered events until the end of 1979.

For a number of years Retböll has been a leading East Timor activist in Scandinavia. Apart from the two books mentioned above, Retböll has published many articles on Timor in Scandinavian media. He has been the most prolific writer on Timor in Scandinavia in recent years. Retböll is extremely well informed about international developments relating to East Timor. He writes in a passionate style from a leftist point of view and succeeds in giving the Indonesian authorities a refreshing beating, not rarely well-deserved. In his latest book he has gathered a number of documents relating to East Timor: articles from newspapers and other sources, some documents which are not easily available, and a new essay on East Timor by Andrew Gray.

A fourth recent book is Det Grymma Spelet (The Ruthless Game), edited by Björn Larsson, and published by the Swedish East Timor Committee in November 1985. The book, written in Swedish, has as a subtitle "Sweden's role in Indonesia's Genocide in East Timor 1975-1985". This subtitle sets the tone for the book which in successive chapters presents the background of the war in East Timor, voices from East Timor, Swedish arms exports to Indonesia, Sweden and the UN, Swedish aid to East Timor, Sweden and IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia), and Swedish trade with Indonesia.

As I already have given a summary of the contents of Det Grymma Spelet in my paper "Scandinavia and East Timor" (see bibliography), I shall not repeat this material here. But in addition to what is there said on Sweden's view of the East Timor affair, it may be mentioned that the Swedish prime minister Ingvar Carlsson, in a letter dated 27 August 1987 and addressed to the Swedish East Timor Committee, reconfirmed earlier views and said that "Sweden several times has forcefully dissociated itself from the illegal occupation of East Timor and expressed itself for the self-determination of the people". It has been the opinion of the Swedish government that the people of East Timor have been innocent victims of political rivalry and of a distorted process of decolonization (Det Grymma Spelet, p. 48).

A fifth recent book, and the last to be mentioned here, has been written by Klemens Ludwig and Katrinna Horta: Osttimor. Das vergessene Sterben (1985). Klemens Ludwig has for a number of years been an important member of the German Society for Threatened Peoples and has devoted much time to the Timor question. Apart from much material also available in English writings, the book Osttimor brings new material. The book is a valuable addition to the literature on East Timor.

Christian Interests in East Timor.

With the relatively strong presence of Catholics in East Timor, Christians, and particularly Catholics, have a long time been interested in East Timor. Before and after Indonesia's invasion in December 1975, Christians have followed events with varying degrees of interest and concern. A number of years after Indonesia's invasion, only individual Christians made their concern public.

This situation changed in the course of the 1980s. Indonesian Catholic bishops in November 1983 assured the East Timorese clergy in cautious words of their solidarity and support. This first collective statement of solidarity was followed by a statement of Portuguese bishops March 1984. Next followed statements of concern from several Asian and European bishops' conferences.

In 1987 not less than three such statements of concern have been published. First, in February, came East Timor, a Christian Reflection. Next, in March, followed The Question of East Timor. And finally, in June, The Uniting Church and East Timor (see bibliography for details).

All three statements dissociate themselves from the main Indonesian views. The statements are much more critical of the Indonesians than of Fretilin and try to combat Indonesian information and propaganda.

The Uniting Church of Australia "does not consider that any satisfactory solution can be arrived at in East Timor through military means" (p. 1). It is its opinion "that Indonesia has not permitted any act of self-determination that is recognisable as such under accepted democratic practices". The "invasion was carried out with unusual brutality and the Indonesians have yet to 'win over' the local population, having underestimated Fretilin's strength and support" (p.4).

Summarizing its views the Uniting Church writes that "the present situation in East Timor is marked by gross violations of the rights of the people of that place" (p. 7). People "have been killed and tortured in very large numbers", "freedom of speech and assembly are heavily curtailed, press censorship is part of daily life and the right to organise is very restricted" (p. 7). The Church has the impression that the intention of the Indonesian government "is to destroy the East Timorese people spiritually and culturally. The de-Timorisation of East Timor is institutionalised - e.g. through schooling and the use of Indonesian as the official language" (p. 7).

So far this statement of the Uniting Church in Australia, written by its Social Responsibility and Justice Committee. The two other 1987 church statements have been written in the same vein, The Question of East Timor being the most thorough one. None of the church statements brings new facts.

Parliamentarians on East Timor.

In addition to statements of concern from the part of various Christian bodies, there have also in recent years been published similar statements by parliamentarians from a number of western countries and Japan.

On 3 June 1985 Lord Avebury, chairman of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, announced that a declaration on East Timor had won the support of 411 parliamentarians from 13 countries. The total later rose to 427. The parliamentarians were from the following countries: Australia, Denmark, France, West Germany, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The declaration was also endorsed by 104 church organisations from Asia, the Pacific and Australia.

In the text of the declaration it is said that Indonesia has occupied East Timor "illegally" and that the "East Timorese have been denied their right to self-determination". Further, the talks between Indonesia and Portugal should include "representatives of the East Timorese people". Negotiations were to lead to "an act of self-

determination which is free from interference and verified by international observers acceptable to the East Timorese people" (Tapol Bulletin no. 70, July 1985, p. 12).

The next of this kind of resolutions was introduced by Tony Hall in the US House of Representatives on 10 December 1985. Among other things the resolution wanted to encourage the government of Indonesia to "maintain and expand access to and guarantee freedom of movement in East Timor for humanitarian organisations", "allow unhindered access to East Timor for journalists, church organisations and human rights groups that seek to visit the territory", and "allow qualified international observers to be present at trial proceedings that involve East Timorese political prisoners" (Tapol Bulletin, no. 73, Jan. 1986, p. 24).

Somewhat earlier, in a letter dated 7 December 1985, 75 Japanese parliamentarians asked secretary-general Perez de Cuellar to include "representatives of the East Timorese" in the deliberations between Indonesia and Portugal. The parliamentarians also regretted that Japan since 1975 had voted "against resolutions affirming the right of the East Timorese to self-determination" (Tapol Bulletin, no. 75, May 1986, p. 16).

Then, on 16 December 1985, 34 members of the US House of Representatives wrote to secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar. In the letter they expressed their "deep concern over existing conditions in East Timor" and asked the secretary-general for his "assistance in facilitating a discussion within the UN of the events in East Timor".

Finally, in connection with president Reagan's visit to Bali in April 1986, 125 American congressmen and 23 senators sent separate letters asking the president to raise the question of East Timor during his talks with president Suharto. The first of these letters referred to reports of "serious human rights abuses", of continued fighting, of "various pressures and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor", and of "accounts of "hidden" prisons and detention camps". The second letter was similar in content (Timor Link, no. 6, June 1986).

Recent News.

Mario Carrascalao, governor since 1982, was in September 1987 sworn in for a further five years.

According to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, there are 216,000 regulars in the Indonesian army, 15,000

of these being in East Timor in 20 infantry battalions. Fretilin strength was given as 1,500 men equipped with small arms (East Timor Report, no. 12, Nov. 1987).

In the course of 1987 there have been reports of a possible visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. But at the end of 1987 no date had been fixed for such a visit (East Timor News, no. 1/88, 10 Jan. 1988).

Conclusion.

The years 1985-1987 have brought little that is basically new. During these years there have from time to time occurred armed clashes, but there has also been social and economic progress in East Timor. The territory has moved further in the direction of becoming an ordinary province of Indonesia. However, there are also a number of signs indicating that it may take a long time before East Timor becomes an ordinary Indonesian province.

In principle it is, of course, possible that a future Indonesian government will allow a genuine act of self-determination to take place in East Timor. But developments so far indicate that such an act of self-determination will only be allowed if it is expected that it will not lead to any secession. For the time being many East Timorese still resent the Indonesian presence and a genuine act of self-determination in the near future would probably lead to secession and independence. Internally and internationally East Timor remains a problem for the Indonesian authorities who, however, expect that time works in their favour and who are therefore not likely to make any important concessions.

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